352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
442 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

587 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[410] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[278] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

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While the fruit of the chonta dura is never eaten raw, there is another palm that produces a fruit similar in form but of a grayish yellow color, which is considerably esteemed in its raw state. Neither of these species of palm is purposely planted by the Cayapa, but when found they are carefully protected, and the fruits are harvested year after year.

One other species of palm, a very tall, slender one, produces a fruit which it eaten raw. To secure this the palm is usually cut down with a machete, which is always carried by everyone going into the jungle.

One of the most important of the natural products of this part of Ecuador is the tagua, or ivory nut. These palms, called ti'ñ tci or ti'mō būlō, are scattered throughout the jungle and are carefully conserved by the Indians, especially where a grove of them is found near a dwelling. The importance of this palm applies both to the Indians and to the negroes and whites. The ripe nuts, timbū pū'ka, or timō pōka, are an article of commerce, and their exportation to the United States and to Europe, where they are extensively used in making buttons, is an important industry. To the Indians, however, the tagua serves at least three other uses. When its green burs approach maturity, they are gathered and taken to the house, where they are cut crosswise with a machete. These burs are covered by an outer shell, called ha'ñda kika. They are very hard and can be cut only with difficulty. Each of the nuts in this stage of its development is an almost transparent gelatinous substance, called tcapi ta'ka, which may

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The crisp, pure white, young leaves from the center of the crown of this palm are much esteemed as a food by the Cayapa. To secure these, however, it is necessary to cut down the whole plant, which is done with a machete or preferably an ax. The large, mature leaves of the crown are cut and pried away until the inner part of the trunk is reached. These outer, old leaves of the crown are even more fibrous and resistant than the trunk itself, and as it is almost impossible to cut them away with a machete, an ax is usually necessary. Owing to their great weight, and especially to the interlacing of the hard and very strong fibers at the bases of the leaves, a couple of chisel-pointed sticks, six feet or so in length, are needed to pry away the outer leaves after the mid-ribs have once been cut through with the ax. This inner trunk and those inner leaves which have already begun to unfold are next cut away, until the very young, succulent leaves, which as yet have not commenced to unfold and which appear in the form of a solid, slender cone of pure white, are reached. This cone often measures at its base as much as ten to fifteen inches in diameter, and may be even ten or twelve feet in length. It is a solid mass of crisp white matter, finer in texture than the innermost part of a head of cabbage and with a flavor resembling that of almonds. It is ordinarily eaten raw, either with or without salt, although a very good dish is also prepared by boiling it.

The palma real yields another useful product. The tough fibers, called niñtcü'a, which grow along the sides of the base of the mid-rib of the mature leaf, and which,

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it does not slide from its course and strike a tree. Finally, when the bottom of the incline is nearly reached, both cables are released and the canoe is allowed to take its course over the remaining short distance to the floor of the valley, its momentum usually carrying it for some yards out on the plain.

Having reached the level of the estero or river, the hauling is now done entirely by hand until the canoe is finally launched. If launched in a small creek, it is often necessary still to haul it by hand for a distance down the creek, since it must be passed over sand-bars and even lifted over large logs, but small ones are always cut away. At last a point is reached where there is sufficient water to float the canoe down to the river. Sometimes, however, it is deemed advisable to haul the canoe only as far as a point on the estero known to be reached by floods; it is then tied to a tree until such time as the back-water of the river extends far enough to allow the canoe to be paddled down to the main stream.

In either case the canoe is finally taken to the house. If it is small, it may be taken into the house, but if a large one, it is more frequently placed under the house or in a nearby grove of palms or trees. It must then be worked and smoothed by means of adz and planes until reduced to the required thickness, and the desired form and finish are obtained, when it is placed in a dry, shady place to season thoroughly before being calked and painted with brea. In adzing the canoe it is placed in a normal upright position and the inner surface

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adzed first. The inner sides are adzed first across the grain and then diagonally to it. and finally the bottom is adzed in a similar manner. This work is done with a hand-adz such as that shown in fig. 10. 396

This tool is of modern introduction, as indeed are the canoes themselves, as well as the method of their manu- 442● [177] [284]

FIG. 10.—Modern adz used in making canoes

facture. The blade of the adz is of steel and is made by local blacksmiths down the river. The wooden handle, shown in fig. 11, is made by the Cayapa, and is so constructed, with the large projection above and with the notches below, that the blade may be securely bound to it, as is shown in fig. 10, by means of pita-fiber string. The blade is concave, and its edge is usually quite regular and curved, so that, while its full width may be [284]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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412 as great as four inches, generally not more than an inch of the edge is in actual play when a blow is struck. The particular adz here shown has a very uneven edge, due to chipping.

[77] The adz is called aswē'la and kū'le mûcte, both of which terms are derived from the Spanish, the second term signifying "canoe machete." The adz handle is called aswē'la tyapi.

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FIG. 11.—Handle of adz

With this hand-adz repeated light blows are struck along one line after another, the lines being parallel, and perpendicular or diagonal to the grain of the wood. By this means the wood is reduced to uniform thickness and the surfaces are rendered comparatively smooth. The final smoothing of the inside of the canoe is done with the adz, but upon the outer surface and along both the inner and outer edges of the gunwales the adzing is followed usually by more or less smoothing with planes, called sepi'ô or sepi'lyû, made after the fashion of the ordinary carpenter's plane. The sides of a large canoe are thus usually reduced to about three-quarters of an inch in thickness, the bottom having a thickness of between two and three inches. The prow and stern of the canoe are carefully cut to the exact form desired and finished with the adz, no plane being needed at these points.

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The beeswax for calking and painting the canoe is boiled until of the proper consistency and adhesiveness; this is tested by dropping a small amount of the boiling wax into water and then pressing it between the fingers and also chewing it. The hot wax is applied with a brush about two inches in width, called kū'kū sapa, made of a chisel-edged section of the outer fibrous covering of the coconut.

The purpose of the wax thus applied to a canoe is strictly utilitarian. Along the outer surfaces of the gunwale, however, are placed various designs in wax for decorative effect. For this purpose certain stamps made of the light soft balsa wood are used. These stamps are of two forms: one, triangular, with a beveled end, is used for line figures and outlines of triangles and other solid devices; the other is cylindrical and its end is used for making dots. The former is called pi ke'ndū, the latter tsū ka'nū. The wax must in all cases be applied while very hot, when it soaks into the wood. In order to keep the wax at the proper temperature, the pot containing it is frequently re-heated, fresh wax being added as this is done. The painting with the coconut-bark brush may be done rapidly and requires little skill; but the making of designs with the dies must be done carefully in order to insure uniformity in size, shape, and spacing. Many canoe-makers, of course, use comparatively little care in this painting, especially on canoes intended for sale. However, a man who takes pride in his work is always exact in applying the ornamentation and spares no time or pains

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The wooden seat shown in pl. LXXXIII, 1, is in all essentials the same as that shown in fig. 2 of the same plate, except that the broad support of the two narrow strips at the bottom is not present. The bottom of this seat, like those of the seats shown in figs. 4 and 5, is made by cutting out a transverse section from the middle of the block so that the two supporting surfaces are sections which run transversely to the grain of the wood. In the seat shown in fig. 2, on the other hand, the center is cut out in the opposite direction, that is, with the grain of the wood. Neither of these types of seat with the concave surface is very commonly used.

These wooden seats are found in almost every Cayapa house, although they are not used so frequently as might be expected. Ordinarily if a man wishes to sit down he uses the hammock, which serves primarily as a baby cradle. It is so swung that its ends are not more than ten to twelve feet apart, and he is able to sit almost erect and lean back against the end. Also the raised platforms at the sides of the house serve as seats. The women and children usually sit upon the floor, although occasionally a bench may be used by one of them, especially by a woman who wishes to spin. In large measure, however, such seats are used by visitors or by the men of the house when it is necessary to sit at some particular kind of work, such as sharpening machetes, adzing and planing paddles, and the like.

A wooden device similar in form to these seats is the base upon which the whetstone used for sharpening

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the machete is mounted (pl. LXXXIII, 7). Practically the only difference between this object and a seat such as that shown in fig. 6 of the same plate, is in the presence of the handle at one end. Both the whetstone base and the wooden seat is called tcûmbû'lya.

The whetstones, called tûla'ha, are made of a fine-grained sandstone and are purchased from the settlements down the river. A stone of almost any size is used, but one six by eight or ten inches is most usually employed. It is not fastened to the base, but simply rests upon it in order to bring the stone a few inches from the floor and to make it possible to place the hands on either side lower than the stone when necessary. With this simple apparatus and a hemispherical calabash of water to wet the stone a man will sit and sharpen machetes for a couple of hours at a time, especially when the cane-field is being cleaned or a new area in the bush is being cleared.

In fig. 1 of the plate last referred to is shown another wooden object similar in form to the seats. This is the special wooden base used as a rest upon which to set an earthenware pot as it is being coiled and shaped. Ordinarily these bases consist merely of a flat board of rectangular form. The one here shown is much more elaborate, being circular in outline and having four legs which slant outward from its perimeter; it is also hewn from a single block of wood, as are all the objects represented in this plate.

Another interesting class of wooden objects is dolls, called nawa'wa, made for the amusement of children.

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415 course provides two mates. The cutting is almost
[442] always done with an old machete, the edge of which is serrated by striking it with another machete at intervals of about an eighth of an inch. With this crude saw the shell of the calabash is carefully cut along a line marked usually by a string tied tightly around it. The removal

[285 531]

FIG. 13.—Calabash vessel and woven ring

of the pulp is in this case a simple matter. It is first scooped out in large pieces with the point of a machete or a knife, and then, when the inner surface of the shell is reached, it is scraped carefully and smoothly with a small, smooth-edged clam-shell. The drying also is a more simple process than in the case of the water-calabash, since the inner surface is more exposed to the air.

When dry, the mate is used for a multitude of purposes, such as dipping liquids, serving foods, and so on. If permitted to lie for a long time in any liquid, the cala-

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as many strips as it will yield. This split end is then grasped with the left hand at a point five or six inches from the cuts described, and is bent with the right hand down over the thumb of the left, or in the opposite direction over the fingers (fig. 14). This tension on the fibers causes them to cleave uniformly along the planes started by the preliminary splitting. A new hold is then taken farther down and the bending repeated, which results in the splitting of another section. In this manner it is possible to split rapidly a long root throughout its length. A root will sometimes yield as many as half a dozen strips suitable for basket-making. Before these are used, however, any rough or uneven places, due to chance cleavage of the fibers along these planes, are removed by scraping and sizing. The scraping is done by holding vertically to the ribbon a knife or other sharp-edged instrument while the ribbon is drawn over the edge of the heel or across the side of the knee. Obviously the width of such strips varies according to the part of the root from which they come. On the other hand, the root differs so slightly in diameter throughout that the variation in the width of a strip is very slight. For the finer basketry all splints are

FIG. 14.—Splitting strips for basketry

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right. When this is completed the batten is again inserted and this binding firmly driven home against the last row of weaving.

The colored warp elements are now carefully selected and cut out close to the two ends of the weaving. Thus there are left only the white or brown cotton threads used as the body of the warp and the background for the patterns. These are cut about midway between the two ends of the weaving, thus freeing the textile from the loom.

Now and then it happens that, in the course of weaving, some of the warp or weft elements are broken, when it is necessary to tie them. The loose ends of such a tied strand naturally appear on one or the other of the surfaces of the fabric, which is now carefully inspected and such projecting ends cut off with a sharp knife.

Two small wooden rods a few inches longer than the width of the textile are next procured and the textile at each end is tied by means of the fringe of warp elements to one of the rods. There are twenty or even thirty such ties made around each of the rods. The textile is then taken to the river-bank, where four posts are driven in such manner that it may be stretched horizontally by tying the ends of the rods to the posts (pl. cxx). The fabric is then thoroughly wet and allowed to dry in the sun, which shrinks it as much as is possible, adjusting the strands one to another and tending to reduce any stiffness in the textile.

When dried the fabric is taken down and the fringe untied from the rods. A hemispherical calabash vessel or other rounded surface is next provided and with a

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sharp knife the fringe, placed against the calabash, is trimmed close to the binding at the edge. The fabric is now ready for use.

Mantas (pls. CXIII-CXV), called tyū'nya by the Cayapa, used by the women as skirts, and also mochos (pl. CXVI), called wa'ra, are almost the only textiles now made. No other aboriginal garments are worn except the narrow belt (pl. CVIII, 1, 2) used by the women in connection with the mantas. These belts are woven in precisely the same manner as are the wider textiles, except that a loom is not used unless it is desired to make a wide and elaborate belt.

For narrow belts two short wooden pegs are driven into a section of a plantain or other succulent stem, and upon these the warp strands of the belt are set up on the two transverse bars (*c*, *d*) of a regular loom. For a narrow belt, pita string is often used as the weft. The wide belts are often nicely decorated with geometric or bird and animal figures. For weaving a narrow belt, no shuttle or batten is used ordinarily, the string being passed in the form of a ball between the warp elements, and the finger used to drive the weaving down tightly. The ends of narrow belts are not provided with a special binding; the warp strands at each end are simply braided, usually in two sections, the braids being used for the attachment of tassels made usually of red or blue woolen yarn.

Mantas, of course, are of various sizes, governed by the age of the persons for whom intended. The manta of an adult woman usually measures about thirty by sixty inches, and requires often several months for its weaving.

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to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes /kaiila/ made for them, which may be seven to eight feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze. They learn to select the proper trees as only those that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily. Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel and in the process of carefully scubbing them down the boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the fact that by the time the boys have reached their late teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered finely finished until they have had several more years of experience.

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Paddles: /yápa/. The oar is roughed out with a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife.

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Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the /téči wimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /maʔímba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conunu. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to punchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

juice called guarapo in Spanish.

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the fire-box when preparing a meal. They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband.

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /mĭčte/, and both men and woman are quite adept in its use.

Housing.

Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is made to remove the child. Births that result in death are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken for revenge. 845 [754]

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord /pesi[ɪ̯]ɪ/ with a metal knife. The mid-wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about two hours following the birth. It is said that if the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage. 844 [278] [412] 846 [796]

After the delivery the mother remains at home for two months. She does light tasks about the house, but she does not go to work in the fields. She observes some food taboos during this period such as being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her [262] [784]